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The Gold Coinage of Eucratides
Al. N. Oikonomides

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An Amphora Stand on a Coin of Etruria

ROBERT J. MYERS, ANA, ANS, FRNS

The amphora was the most widely used vessel of ancient times. This large clay pot has an egg-shaped body, usually with a pointed base, and two large handles descending from its narrow neck to the shoulders. It derives its name from *αμφι–φερω*, "to carry about." The two vertical handles and the bottom, which serves as an additional handle, facilitate carrying and pouring. Amphoras were made from the seventh century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. and, when new, were used primarily for wine. Used amphoras were containers for water, oil and honey, and occasionally were used as building material.

The Greek engineers revolutionized the production of clay vessels with their superior potter's wheel, and a great many styles emerged. The shapes and forms of ancient vessels were deliberate, seldom forced by technical necessity. Thus, the narrow neck of the amphora was intended to receive a stopper. The pointed base, though useful as a handle, was intended as a sediment trap when the jar was used for storing wine. Though the majority of amphoras are found in ancient shipwrecks or buried in the ground, or stacked against each other in ruins of warehouses, they undoubtedly were used, when in the hands of the ultimate consumer, to dispense their contents at the table. This function is depicted in several ancient vase and wall paintings.

Consideration of the amphora as a dispensing vessel can lead to a new interpretation of the design on the illustrated coin. Described by Barclay V. Head[1] as a double stater of Etruria, this silver coin has been dated to the second half of the fifth century B.C. It is one of three known examples; the specimen illustrated here is in the cabinet of the American Numismatic Society. The coin was found at Pisa and was acquired by the ANS from the Strozzi collection. The reverse is blank as are many Etruscan coins of this period. The type of the obverse has been interpreted by several numismatists as showing an amphora with a *sepia* (cuttlefish) emerging and as having two helmets in profile. Below appears the number XX (=20) which possibly is the mark of value.

The shape of the amphora depicted on the coin-type is typical

of the Chian manufacture,[2] and the original which the artist had in mind might have been one of those brought to Italy in great numbers by the Phocaeans, the Chians and other eastern Aegean peoples. These traders returned to Greece with bronze implements and leather boots, the two most famous of Etruscan exports. This same style of amphora was adopted later by the Romans and copied for centuries. As for capacity, the average wine amphora held about seven gallons and when full weighed close to sixty pounds.

A single jar, when brought into a house, might have been leaned against a wall. More sensibly, however, it would have been placed in a stand. Amphora stands[3] have been found in excavations in the form of large pottery rings; but bronze stands in the form of tripods have also been found in Cyprus and Crete. The Etruscans, famous for their work with bronze, must have made many tripods of this metal. However, those specimens which have been found are usually exhibited in museums with a bronze kettle placed on top and are alleged to have held these kettles to dispense liquids, perfumes and incense for religious ceremonies.

Examination of the coin-types with acknowledged tripods shown on them discloses a tripod of quite different structure than the majority of those found in modern excavations. The commonest form of existing tripods has a large ring on the top portion and a smaller ring placed within the three braces uniting the 'skele' near the bottom. This arrangement would, of course, be an ideal stand for the placement of a large wine amphora because it would hold the vessel upright so that the wine sediment would not mix with the clear liquid above.

As for the coin type which is illustrated above, I suggest that the two ax-like designs on the sides of the 'Chian' wine amphora cannot be logically interpreted as 'helmets.' Not only were helmets of this most peculiar and impractical design never used from the fifth to the second century B.C., but even if they were they do not appear to add any meaning to this coin-type. An amphora stand would be the more likely object to be shown in this context, and a careful study of the details may convince the observer that this is actually the case. This is perhaps the most elaborate amphora stand known to date, for its design is not only original and ingenious, but also decorative as might have been required for a nobleman's banquet room. Technically this stand may be described as a tripod formed by three vertical ax-like bronze units joined at the bottom by three braces holding a small ring in which the pointed base of the amphora is seated. The weight of the amphora concentrating on the uniting braces from

the central ring would have brought the curved interior edges of the vertical units closer to the vessel, thus locking the amphora securely in place. I believe that the Etruscan tripods of bronze and iron found in many museum collections should be re-examined with the above interpretation in mind and that amphoras should be placed in them instead of incongruous metal kettles.

[1] Head, B. V. *Historia Numorum.* (1911 ed., repr. Chicago 1967) p. 15
[2] Grace, V. R. *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade.* Princeton 1961, illustr. 42
[3] Grace, V. R. *op. cit.* illustr. 4,5,6,8.

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The Gold Coinage of the Indo-Greek King Eucratides I (171-155 B.C.)

AL. N. OIKONOMIDES

Among the most well known of the Indo-Greek kings, Eucratides I "the Great" is possibly the most familiar. Historians like Tarn[1] and Narain[2] have built much of the history of Hellenistic Bactria and India which we know today upon the adventurous career of this king and on the dynasty which he established. To historians of Hellenistic art[3] the powerful portrait of Eucratides wearing his crested "pith-helmet" (adorned with the heraldic Seleucid symbol of bull's ear and horn), is especially well known as one of the masterpieces of Hellenistic portraiture on coins, and among numismatists, it is certainly one of the best known portraits from Indo-Greek coinage.

The fact is, however, that we still lack a great deal of knowledge, not only about the history of this famous king, but also about his coinage, and in this area we know less than we ought to, particularly of his gold issues. Eucratides, who was possibly the world's first ruler to issue bilingual coinage, used both the Attic and Indian standards and we possess a large number of types documenting his extensive mintings in both standards of silver and bronze. But as far as our present evidence goes concerning his gold issues, we are limited to one known and one almost unknown type of stater in the Attic standard and the unique and world famous twenty stater piece (2593.5 grains) in the Cabinet des Medailles of Paris.

Even from the scant evidence that one of the two known types of gold issues of Eucratides is one of the largest gold coins ever minted by the rulers of the ancient world, we may be convinced that he suffered no shortage of this precious metal. But if that was the case, how can it be explained that in all the great collections of the world, only the Paris specimen and one other type have been published? Even in the recently compiled and excellent *Corpus of the Indo-Greek Coins* by A. N. Lahiri[4] the available information about the gold coinage of Eucratides leaves much to be desired. For this reason I shall try here to reexamine briefly the existing types and to add some more information about a little known type of stater.

THE KNOWN TYPES

On the basis of the known specimens, the gold coinage of Eucratides can be divided into two groups according to the inscriptions and reverse types.

A. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ: Reverse type, Palms and Piloi of

the Dioscouri. Monogram.

B. ΒΕΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ: Reverse type, mounted Dioscouri. Monogram.

From the specimens known to date, all known gold coins of Groups A and B were issued in the Attic standard. The lack of gold coins undoubtedly issued in the Indian standard can by no means be considered as an indication that such issues do not exist or that they were not struck, inasmuch as we know of bronze and silver coins which verify the use of the Indian standard.

Based upon the evidence available to Lahiri for the compilation of the *CIGC*, we arrive at the following figures:

Group A. Represented by only one stater in the Azizbeglu collection in Teheran (not illustrated). Weight: 7 gr.2 (*ca.* 111 grains. Cf. note 8)

Group B. Represented by: 1) a stater of the Newell Collection now in the American Numismatic Society (illustrated *CIGC* Pl. XVI, 3). Lahiri (p. 123) traces the most interesting pedigree of this coin, the first owner of which was Colonel Strutt (cf. *BMC*5 p. 165, No. 2).

2) The twenty stater piece now in Paris (See *CIGC*, pp. 122-123, illustrated in Plate XVI, 2).

3) An Attic Octadrachm (?) from the J. P. Morgan collection, sold by mail bid auction in New York, June 24, 1953 by Hand M. F. Schulman. (*CIGC*, p. 123. Not illustrated). Present location unknown.

In the *CIGC*, the entry of the unique known "stater" (Lahiri's quotes) of Group A is based upon its description (without illustration) by Madame Al‹ ouche-LePage in *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. 238 (1950), pp. 476-477. Lahiri justly accepts the coin as a real gold issue of Eucratides and considers Madame LePage's suspicions unjustifiable which she raised due to the existence of a pellet border around the king's portrait and the simple title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. The lack of an illustration does not allow identification of the monogram which Madame LePage described as "*one of Eucratides' 22 monograms.*" but the weight of 7 gr. 2 (111 grains), as Lahiri correctly observes, "*unless the condition of the*

coin is bad, would be too low." This coin belongs to Mr. Azizbeglu of Teheran, "the proud possessor of the unique Attic tetradrachm of Menander I."

Happily, we are in the position to add, the stater in the collection of M. Azizbeglu is not the unique coin preserved of this most interesting and important type from the coinage of Eucratides. The illustration (Fig. 1) is from another specimen which was, at least until 1934, in the collection of Mr. Ivan Albert of Romania. I am unable to add anything about the present location of this most interesting historical coin, but luckily for students of Indo-Greek numismatics, it was published in a privately printed pamphlet in 1934 which, to my knowledge, is not recorded in any of the usual bibliographies.[6] Its complete title is: Alexandre Farkas, *L'Iconographie des Rois Parthes. Supplement Monnaies grecques inedites.* Edition de l'auteur. Aivd-Nagyenyed 1934. 14 pp. + 2 plates. On page 13 Farkas gives in French the following description of the coin which I give in translation.

"Bactria. Gold stater. Obverse: Helmeted royal bust to right. Reverse: Adornment of Isis. Inscription in two lines 'Basileos-Eucratidou.' 8.75 grams. Not in the British Museum. In the possession of Mr. Ivan Albert, chief-engineer, Torda, Romania. I know another specimen in the collection of Mr. Thomas Meymarian, Baghdad, Iraq."

In this description Farkas made only one error; he mistook the two piloi of the Dioscouri and the upright palm branch between them[7] as the symbolic crown of Isia as it appears on the reverse of some of the Roman Imperial Alexandrian issues. Of course, he thought that the pellet border around the portrait was unimportant. (But Madame LePage based most of her suspicions about the Azizbeglu specimen upon its presence!).

The Ivan Albert specimen, as may be seen from the illustration, is encased in an attendant metal ring, which, as we may see from the weight of 8.75 gr. listed by Farkas for this coin, is responsible for the 0.20 gr. excess over the regular weight of 8.55 gr. for a stater of the Attic standard. The position of the obverse and reverse dies is easily realized from the illustration on the basis of the loop of the attached ring. As for the monogram, even with the help of Lahiri's three excellent plates in *CIGC* it is difficult to be positive of its identification. The pellet border around the portrait appears also on the stater of Group B in the ANS collection.

One more series of questions arises. Is the specimen in the collection of Mr. Azizbeglu in Teheran[8] the same one mentioned in 1934 by Farkas as being in Baghdad? And if not, what happened to that specimen? It would appear that there are more unpublished coins than published ones, even of the most rare

specimens of the Indo-Greek series. Therefore the duty of the numismatist is to collect and make available this information for the benefit of all.

Finally, what became of the octadrachm of Group B, the unique record of which is the listing and illustration in Mr. Schulman's auction catalogue of 1953? I hope that he will be able to locate the needed information in his records and perhaps a picture of the coin so that it can be published in a future issue of the *NAJN* to make our records of the known specimens of the gold coins of Eucratides complete insofar as we are able.

[1] W. W. Tarn. *The Greeks in Bactria and India.* 2nd ed. Cambridge 1951. The most interesting chapter V of this book titled "Antiochus IV and Eucratides" (pp. 183-224) is a very readable and excellent account of Eucratides' career and reign.

[2] A. K. Narain. *The Indo-Greeks.* Oxford 1957. Professor Narain's brilliant work is the most recent scholarly effort of reconstruction of the history of the Indo-Greek kings. For Eucratides see pp. 53-58 and *passim*. Bibliography, pp. 182-190. For the known coin types of Eucratides, see the same author's *The Coin Types of the Indo-Greek Kings*, Bombay 1955, pp. 9-12. (Repr. Chicago 1968). The type of one upright palm between the piloi of the Dioscouri is not listed for gold coins by Narain.

[3] Mme. Th. Allouche-LePage. *L'Art Monetaire de Royaumes Bactriens.* Paris 1956. For unknown reasons, no illustration of this famous portrait appears in any of the recent editions examining Greek art or Greek coins, other than that used as the cover illustration of Narain's *Coin Types of the Indo Greek Kings* (1968 edition).

[4] A. N. Lahiri. *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins.* Calcutta 1966. (Abbrev. *CIGC*) This work provides the student of the Indo-Greek series with a powerful reference expanding the numismatic evidence of the successors of Alexander the Great in Bactria and India to every possible direction. It is an excellent model which might well be followed for the classification of all the Hellenistic regal coinages.

[5] P. Gardner. *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum.* 1886. (Repr. Chicago 1966). A reference publication of one of the best museum collections of Indo-Greek coins in the world.

[6] Its absence is to be noted especially in Singhal's *Bibliography of Indian Coins*, Part I. (Non-Muhammadan Series) Bombay 1950.

[7] The same type also appears on silver coins of Eucratides, cf. *BMC* V, 11 and 12. Also *PMC* II, 64 and 77.

[8] Due to the given weight of 7 gr. 2 (*ca.* 111 grains) the possibility of a worn specimen struck in the Indian standard is more probable (8 gr. 3 or 124 grains). The Attic standard stater of Ivan Albert (8 gr. 55 or 132 grains) supports the possibility that the Azizbeglu specimen is more likely a much used Indian standard stater (a loss of 13 grains) than one of the Attic standard (loss of 21 grains). If this assumption is correct, we learn for the first time that Eucratides used both standards for his gold coinage.

COINS AND THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF SCOTLAND
Part II: The Second Century A. D.

Lloyd R. Laing

The relative rarity of first century coins, both in hoards and in site finds in Northern Britain, emphasizes the impermanence of Agricola's offensive. Having penetrated as far North as Perthshire, after his victory at Mons Graupius in 84, he was recalled to Rome before he had completed his program of subjugation in the north. Until the time of Trajan, however, the northern garrisons maintained their position, when further trouble broke out again. The matter was considered sufficiently serious for Hadrian to come to Britain in person – he was noted for his assiduity in visiting provinces – and he brought with him the VI legion, Valeria Victrix. He probably came in 122 A.D., though the duration of his visit is not known. To commemorate his visit a number of coins were struck between 134 and 138, some showing the figure of Britannia in an attitude of dejection.

The planning and building of the defences which we now know as Hadrian's Wall was the most important outcome of his visit. Between 122 and 138 A. D. a massive defence was constructed between the Tyne and the Solway, some 76 Roman miles long. From the East was built a stone wall 45 miles in length, and to this was added a turf rampart to complete the remaining 31 miles of the limes. Where necessary this barrier was fronted with a ditch and was defended by a system of fortlets, each a mile apart, with two turrets in the intervening stretches.

Hadrian's Wall was not an altogether satisfactory limes, and further troubles arose on the frontier. Accordingly, about 140 A.D. the construction of a new series of defences was undertaken. Along the line of the Flavian forts between the Forth and Clyde a new wall was built, this time entirely of turf instead of stone. Although at first sight this might seem a less satisfactory barrier, in reality it was a technical improvement, since the firts along it were more closely placed and the need for milecastles and turrets was obviated. The work was done between 139 and 142 under the direction of Lollius Urbicus. Hadrian's Wall was temporarily abandoned, though it was defended again later. The opperation was considered of sufficient importance to merit a commemorative series of coins – some of 'Britannia' type, others with Victory on the reverse.

As one might expect the coin finds from the Antonine Wall forts reflect the new developments. In addition to the Flavian forts a number of new forts were built, so that there was one fort

every two miles along the wall. Most of these forts have yielded coins, usually starting with those of Trajan and Hadrian. The sequence ends with Commodus, suggesting that the Wall was abandoned early in his reign. One fort, Kirkintilloch, has produced a coin of his, and a coin of his wife Crispina has been found at Newstead to the south. Some of the forts have yielded much later coins of the third and fourth centuries, but these are not at indication of Roman occupation, merely that squatters settled there and used Roman coins. The reason for the Commodan abandonment of the Wall was probably a further series of uprisings.

There may have been a brief period of re-occupation under Commodus' successor, Septimius Severus, who came to Britain to take part in the northern campaigns, making his base at York. At this time northern raids brought about a period of acute disruption, when not only the forts of Hadrian's Wall, but even more southerly sites were attacked. Severus temporarily bought off the raiders and set about repairing the Wall and York.

By 208 this work was largely completed, and this was the year in which Severus came to Britain accompanied by his son Caracalla. From York he launched the offensive in the period 208-11.

The object of the campaign was once again the warlike Maeatae of Strathmore and Strathearn. The coins of Caracalla, already joint emperor, struck in 207, herald British victories — possibly he arrived in Britain in advance of his father. A few coins of Severus himself and his other son Geta struck during the period 208-13 also relate to the campaign. There are several varieties of these coins, usually with Victory on the reverse and the legend VICTORIAE BRIT or a variant thereof. Victory is sometimes shown inscribing a shield, presumably with the name of Britain, which is set on a palm tree. Sometimes Victory and a woman in a towered crown are shown standing on either side of a trophy at the foot of which a female captive cowers. Most of these coins were struck in Rome, but one, a billon tetradrachm, was struck in Alexandria.

Corbridge near Hadrian's Wall was used as the supply base for the Scottish campaigns, and a naval base was established at Cramond, on the Forth. Here the coin sequence clearly reveals the Severan occupation, with coins extending down to this date.

Further north another site has produced coin evidence of a Severan occupation. This is Carpow in Perthshire where there seems to have been a legionary base in the early third century. Carpow was built after a victory over the Caledonians in 209, and was probably chosen as it could be supplied by sea. The two coins

which attest a Severan occupation there are of Caracalla (under Severus) and Plautilla, Septimius' wife. They suggest the fort was built c. 209 with the intention of continuing occupation, but abandoned c. 211 on the death of Severus, because Caracalla did not pursue his father's policy.

At the time of Severus, as one might expect, a few hoards were buried in Scotland. With these the story of the Roman occupation ends although coins continued to enter the country and enjoyed a limited circulation among the natives.

Part I of this article appeared in *NAJN* V-VI (1967) pp.229-231.

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The Destruction of the Hephthalites

RAYMOND J. HEBERT

INTRODUCTION

When Khusrau (or *Chosroes*) I, usually called *Khusrau Anushirwan*, succeeded his father Kavad on the Sasanian throne in 531 A. D., his empire was bounded by the Roman Empire to the west, the Hunnic tribes to the north, the Arab states to the south, and the Hephthalites to the east. For the first three decades of his reign, he was occupied with fighting the Romans[1], and so tried to maintain peace with his eastern neighbors. In this he seems to have been successful for we have no record of conflicts with them during this period.

However, shortly after the middle of the sixth century, a significant change in the geopolitics of Central Asia took place. In 552 A. D. the Turks or *T'u-kue* overthrew their masters, the *Juan-juan*, and destroyed them, making themselves masters of a vast area stretching from the Manchurian frontier to Turfan and even to the eastern tip of Lake Balkhash and from the Orkhon River down to the Great Wall.[2] It was not long before they encountered the Hephthalites. Incidents turned into clashes. Then war broke out over the massacre of a Turkish (*T'u-kue*) embassy to Khusrau by the Hephthalites. This embassy was being sent by the T'u-kue *Qaghan Istami* (552-575 A.D.) to the Sasanian court and it was destroyed while passing through Hephthalite lands, probably because the latter feared that it would be successful in establishing friendly relations with the former. Upon hearing this news, Istami invaded the Hephthalite lands, and after a great battle, defeated them. However, he was not able to crush them completely.[3]

Khusrau, who had emerged victorious from his wars with the Romans, was now free to turn his attention to his eastern borders. At first he could not make up his mind what would be his position *vis-a-vis* the power struggle then going on in Central Asia. Would he march to the aid of the Hephthalites and help them to drive the T'u-kue back whence they had come, or would he join with the latter in attacking his immediate neighbor? Just at this time, a second embassy from Istami was successful in reacing the Sasanian court. Through the friendly and at times flattering statements of its members, Istami was able to convince Khusrau that his intentions were not aggressive and that the Hephthalites posed a threat to both of them. A mutual assistance treaty was made and to bind it, Khusrau took to wife the daughter of the

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Qaghan.[4]

As a result of the treaty, Khusrau and Istami made a joint attack on the Hephthalites and this time utterly destroyed them.[5] As spoils, the T'u-kue received all the lands north of the Oxus, and the Sasanians the *terra irredenta* to the south, that is to say, Bactria and Afghanistan.[6]

The exact date of the destruction of the Hephthalites is moot. Drouin[7] has placed it in 557 A. D., Chavannes[8] believed it to be between 563-567 A. D., Grousset[9] suggested about 565 A. D., Frye[10] hazarded circa 558 A. D., and Ghirshman[11] proposed 560 A. D.

Also uncertain is how long the Sasanian occupation of the former Hephthalite lands lasted. We are told that the T'u-kue turned on their former allies and took from them Balkh and Qunduz, i.e. Bactria.[12]

Recently the writer purchased from a government official returned from Afghanistan a number of interesting Sasanian, Arab-Sasanian, Indo-Sasanian and Kushan copper and silver coins coins[13] in which were included eleven remarkable countermarked silver coins of Sasanian fabric said to have come as a lot from Begram (Kapisa), north of Kabul. It is my belief that they may shed some light on the confusing period mentioned above. The arguments advanced below are that (a) the coins are Sasanian drachms of Khusrau I, (b) struck in the former Hephthalite dominions at mints as yet unidentified, and (c) between the years thirty to forty-five of Khusrau I's reign.[14]

The diameters (Table I) range from 29 mm. to 31 mm., and the weights (Table I) from 2.48 gr, to 3.34 gr. with an average of 2.87 gr., slightly more than one gram less than the standard for Sasanian drachms which maintained an even standard of weight from Ardashir I down to the last of the line. Mordtmann[15] who weighed nearly two thousand Sasanian drachms, arrived at an average weight of 3.906 gr. The discrepancy in their weight from this figure can probably be explained by loss of silver from wear, damage and clipping. Die alignments (Table I) are regular, i.e. when the obverse's top is at 12:00, the reverse's top will be at (or nearly at) 3:00.

The obverses show the usual bearded bust of a ruler to the right, in the style of Khusrau I, the hair bunched at the back in the form of a rosette of pearls, wearing a headdress studded with two rows of pearls surmounted by a crescent and globe, and a dress adorned with two rows of pearls, and a necklace of pearls. Three pearls in the shape ∴ form the earrings and the breast ornament. To the right of the headdress is a star and crescent, and

to the left, a star. Over the right shoulder is a crescent (except for coin number 4?), over the right and left shoulders a fillet. In the fourth quadrant left downward in Pahlevi are the first two letters of the invocation AFZUT ('May [kingship] increase!). In the right field downward in corrupt Pahlevi is what I propose to read as SRU of HUSRUB, i.e. Khusrau. All this is enclosed within a single circle of dots. The outer margin is divided into four quadrants by three crescents – right, left and bottom–and the globe of the crown at the top. Six, perhaps seven, of the coins have crescents, three have dots and crescents, and one, stars and crescents (Table I). One of the coins, number 8, has what appears to be in the outer margin of the second quadrant. Coin number 11 has what appears to be two dots , in the first quadrant.

The reverse has the normal type of fire altar on either side of which are attendants. Left of the flames is a star and to the right a crescent. This applies to all but coins number 4 and 8 in which the order is reversed. All this is enclosed within a circle of dots. To the left of the attendant on the left are dates in very corrupt Pahlevi (Table II), and to the right of the attendant on the right where one usually finds the mint-signature is a swastika in combination with Pahlevi letters and other symbols (Table II).

III. THE COUNTERMARKS

Two, one, or no countermarks appear on these coins. These are countermark A, , similar to Walker's countermarks 1-3 and 7, and countermark B, similar to Walker's countermark 21.[16] These countermarks appear only on the left obverse margin between 7:30 o'clock and 10:30 o'clock, with the added feature of having A in the third quadrant, and B in the fourth quadrant (Table I). Walker[17] has already drawn our attention to the curious fact that Arab-Sasanian coins are countermarked (a) always on the obverse, and (b) never over the face of the conventional Sasanian effigy. The same is true for these coins and also for other Sasanian coins.[18]

The clearest example of countermark A is the one which appears on coin number 10. We see some sort of a fantastic winged creature in flight to the right, two forefeet raised, tongue protruding [this is not readily seen in the photos], with eight-vaned wings. Similar countermarks on Arab-Sasanian coins have been described by Nutzel[19] as 'Kopf und Hals eines Fabeltieres,' and as 'a horse's head with a wing behind and with a legend which he regarded as Arabic الله(?). Walker disagreed with this second interpretation, saying that the countermark resembled his number 7 and the script was not Arabic but Pahlevi. At first, I though it might be Pegasus since I knew this to

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Coming Next Month!

Notes on Sasanian Kings and Coins
by Raymond J. Hebert
in a special issue devoted to Oriental coins

be a fairly common theme on Parthian and Sasanian seals.[20] We know that it appeared on Arab-Sasanian coins where its presence is explained by Unvala[21] who writes, "Le Pegase est sans doute emprunté aux cachets sassanides, sur lesquel ils figurent très souvent. Pourtant il est très probable qu'il représente sur ces monnaies musulmanes le Boraq du Prophète." Two other possibilities which I considered were that it represented a winged camel or a Senmurv. The Senmurv—the dog bird—was a fantastic compound creature associated in the Avesta with Verethragna. This long-nosed, lion-clawed, bird-tailed being was a force for good, destroying such evil beings as serpents. It represented the cosmic concept of the three heavens and had the agricultural function of spreading fertility by scattering the seeds of the cosmic tree. The winged camel was also one of Verethragna's ten avatars, and appears in the ancient Middle Eastern mythology as a menacing being that lived in the sandy wastes between Iran and China. Orbeli[22] thinks that the idea for such a being may have come from the anxiety and loneliness of desert travellers who saw the large vultures of that region hovering overhead. Seen in profile, their long curved necks and heads may have suggested the figure of winged camels.

However, long and careful comparisons of these countermarks with representations of other winged beings have convinced me that they are winged lions. We know that these are a common feature of Middle Eastern art and apparently were created to give a double representation of the sun—the eagle and the lion which were both sun symbols.[23]

Countermark B has a curious resemblance to the Arabic Ghayn or 'ayn, although this is not to say that this is what I am suggesting it represents. I am not able at this time to offer any suggestion as to what it may be.

I think it significant that, on the coins listed in Walker's catalogue, those with countermarks 1-3, 7, and 21, i.e. countermarks A and B, were, with one exception (Nahr-Tira), overstruck on coins struck at mints in Khurasan province: Bishapur, Balkh, Marw, and Marw-ar-Rudh.

IV. THE MINT-SIGNATURES

An examination of the mint-signatures (Table II) will show that there are three types: O—swastika—Pahlevi letters MU? (Coins numbered 1, 9?, and 11); O—swastika—Pahlevi letters AF? (coin number 2); and O—swastika—O (coins numbered 4, 5, 6, 7?, and 8). Note also that the swastika is reversed on coins numbered 7 and 10. Also note the three dots surrounding the first O of coin number 6.

The swastika, emblem of the sun, appears among a great

variety of peoples, ancient and modern, usually as a sign of well-being or good luck. In fact, the word swastika derives from Sanskrit *su* 'well' and *asti* 'being.' Swastikas are found on many of the coins of the small indigenous states of India, including Odjain, Odumbara, Adjdhya, Kosambi and Taxila. It also occurs on the smaller denominations of the Sasnian king Shapur III (383-388 A. D.)[24]

The presence of the swastika on the coins suggests an eastern mint, most likely northern Afghanistan, but the problem of the identification of the mints may have to wait for the discovery and publication of bullae such as that described by Herzfeld.[25] Boebl[26] has a mint signature AP which he identifies with Abrashahr in Khurasan. However, I think that the AF (the letter ⌐ may be read as F or P) on the coin in this paper is a different mint, but I can suggest no idea as to where it was located. The crude nature of the engraving suggests that these coins were struck at some distance from the center of the Empire and in a relatively uncivilized area such as this rough mountainous region of Begram and its environs must have been. It is also reasonable to suppose that these coins circulated within a fairly small area not far from the scene of their striking. The absence of Pahlevi letters on the third group suggests the possibility of its having been the main mint and a camp-mint at that. One could speculate further and make other hypotheses, but until further data is forthcoming, this would serve no useful purpose.

THE DATES

Because of the crudity of the engraving and the ambiguity of the letters themselves, I had considerable difficulty arriving at the dates that I give below. It is with much hesitation and trepidation that I give them, hoping that if I am incorrect, others better qualified than I will not hesitate to let me know their opinions. If my readings are correct, it would indicate that these areas were under Khusrau's dominion till the very end of his reign, and that Chavannes' and Grousset's dates are too late. Coins numbered 3, 5, 6, 9 and 10 were struck in the year 30, coin number 4 in the year 39, and coins numbered 1, 2 and 11 in the year 45. Coin number 7 may be dated 37 or 38. I can do nothing with coin number 8.

NOTES:

[1] Procopius, *Historiae*, ed. Dindorf (Bonn 1823) I, 21 17 ff.; T; Noldecke, *Aufsatze zur Persischen Geschichte* (Leipzig 1889) 151 ff.; A. G. and E. Warner, *The Shahname of Firdausi* (London) VII, 22 ff.: E. Rehatsek, *The Raudat-us-Safa or Garden of Purity* (London 1892) I 372 ff.

[2] H. W. Haussig, 'Die Quellen uber die Zentralasiastische Herkunft der Europaischen Awaren,' *Central Asiatic Journal* II 1956 21 ff.: R.

Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes* (Paris 1952) 124 ff.

[3] Warner, *op. cit.* 328 ff.

[4] *ibid.* 345

[5] Menander Protector 'Fragmenta,' *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* IV 210; Noldecke, *op. cit.* 167

[6] *ibid.* 159

[7] E. Drouin, "Memoires sur les Huns Ephthalites," *Museon* XIV (1895) 286

[8] E. Chavannes, *Documents Chinois decouverts par A. Stein dans les Sables du Turkestan Orientals* Oxford 1913, 226

[9] Grousset, *op. cit.* 127

[10] Richard N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (New York 1966) 258

[11] R. Ghirshman, *Iran* (1954) 305

[12] Grousset, *op. cit.* 127

[13] Descriptions are to be published separately.

[14] I am indebted to Mr. Jesse Yockers for valuable suggestions and insights gained during a discussion concerning the attribution and provenance of these coins. I am responsible for any errors in interpretation that may be found.

[15] cited in J. Walker, *A Catalog of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (London 1941) cxlvii

[16] *ibid.* Table K

[17] *ibid.* cxlii

[18] See my "Three Countermarked Sassanid Coins," in *The Voice of the Turtle* Vol. V, No. 12 (December 1966) pp. 365-6. The same is true for a countermarked coin of Vakhba, king of Zabul in the collection, and also one in the William Porter collection.

[19] cited in Walker, *op. cit.* 190, 189

[20] See pp. 9-12 of F. Knobloch's undated (1967) catalogue which lists and illustrates a collection of engraved gems (Nos. 352, 359, 374, 386).

[21] Cited in G. Miles, *Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region* (New York 1959), 283

[22] J. Orbeli in *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope and P. Ackermann (1964-1965)

[23] Ghirshman, *op. cit.* pl. 17a; Frye, *op. cit.*, pl. 68; Pope and Ackermann, *op. cit.*

[24] R. Goebl, "Sasanian Coins," *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin* (1957) 246

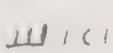
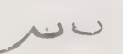
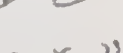
[25] E. Herzfeld, "Notes on the Achaemenid Coinage and some Sasanian Mint Names," *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress London. June 30-July 6, 1936* 416

[26] R. Goebl, "Sasanian Coins," *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin* (1958) 147

TABLE I

Number	Diameter	Weight	Die Alignment	Countermark A	Countermark B	Margin
1	30 mm.	2.48 gr.	2:00 (o'clock)			crescent
2	29.5 mm.	2.52 gr.	3:00		10:00 (o'clock)	crescent
3	30 mm.	2.83 gr.	2:00		9:30	crescent/dot
4	29 mm.	3.00 gr.	3:00		10:00	crescent
5	30 mm.	2.58 gr.	2:00	8:30 (o'clock)	9:30	crescent/star
6	30 mm.	2.83 gr.	3:00	9:00	9:30	crescent
7	29 mm.	2.88 gr.	4:00	9:00	10:30	crescent/dot
8	31 mm.	2.89 gr.	2:00	7:30	10:30	crescent/dot
9	30 mm.	2.94 gr.	2:00	8:30	9:30	crescent
10	30 mm.	3.28 gr.	3:00	8:30	9:30	crescent?
11	30 mm.	3.34 gr.	3:00	8:30	9:30	crescent

TABLE II

Number	Mint Signature	Date
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		
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The Electrolytic Restoration of Ancient Bronze Coins

James A. Baker

[Continued from *NAJN* 5-6 (1967), pp. 311-312]

The restoration process is not for all coins or all persons. A densely incrustated or patinated coin which shows full detail, frequently comes out of the bath with a matte finish and less clarity than before processing. Then too, while it is possible in many cases to preserve much of the original toning, if pressed to the ultimate, the result is a coin with a brilliant copper color which many people find unpleasant on an ancient coin. However, the nascent copper tones rapidly, so two weeks of exposure to the Chicago atmosphere will remedy this.

The payoff comes in the uncovering of double strikes, overstrikes, unsuspected counterstamps and similar fine detail. Then too, there is the thrill, unfortunately all too occasional, of finding an absolutely uncirculated coin over 1500 years old, or uncovering a rarity, and knowing that you have rescued it from a junk pile where it was consigned by a dealer.

Three years of electrolytic experience have forced me to revise my definition of a satisfactory coin to this: "A coin is in satisfactory condition if, and only if, no numismatic or historical information is being obscured by dirt or corrosion."

TECHNICAL DATA

For the restoration of most bronzes, the solution should contain roughly 1% sulfuric acid. An uncirculated cent or farthing makes a good test piece. When the solution is operating properly, a slight bloom of copper will be deposited, which, after a four hour run, should brush off to reveal the mint lustre. Rough or darkened deposits indicate excessive voltage and pitting, excess acid.

The sum of the applied voltages—D.C. and average A.C.—should be under the breakdown potential of water. Six volt sources such as a battery charger and the filament winding of an early TV set are easily obtainable and satisfactory.

The potentiometers should be rated at roughly 25 watts and be in the 15-25 ohm range for a small installation. Five ohm, 10 watt resistors are satisfactory for the insulating restors. The rest is trial and error.

Hoard of Electrum Staters of Cyzicus Found In Odessa Field (Orlovka) in U.S.S.R

One morning last September a group of collective farmers in the village of Orlovka in the Odessa region were clearing the ground in order to build a new barn, when they dug up an old bronze jug.

It had an ornate handle and was very heavy. It might contain gold or silver, the farmers thought, so they carefully spread out a newspaper and emptied the contents onto it. They were very disappointed when a large number of reddish-brown metal discs, bearing representations of human beings and animals spilled out.

The farmers were not interested and gave the discs to children to play with. No one even counted them. The jug was put aside in a pile of junk: the farmers got on with their work, and most of them forgot all about their find.

A few weeks later, however, one of them, who had recognized the discs as coins and thought they might be of historical interest, took 14 of them along to the local militia post. The result was an appeal by the Odessa Museum of Archaeology to the farmers, who brought in the jug and another 59 coins. The museum authorities identified the find as of exceptional interest. The jug, of course, was an oenochoe, a Greek wine jug. The coins were cyzicenes, minted in the Greek city of Cyzicus in the 6th–4th centuries B. C. They are now in the Odessa Museum of Archaeology.

This is the only hoard of cyzicenes in the Soviet Union – two previous finds before the Revolution had been looted, as so much was over the centuries. Over the past 50 years another looted trove and also five or six individual coins of this type have been found in the world. The find is regarded of such value that *Pravda* in Moscow published an article on it by Dr. D. B. Shelov, deputy director of the Institute of Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

In his article Dr. Shelov says: "In ancient Greece each city minted its own coins, mostly of silver. Cyzicus in Asia Minor was an exception since it minted coins of electrum, a natural gold-silver alloy mined in the sands of the River Pactolus.

"Cyzicenes have very interesting figures on them. The city's coat-of-arms bore the representation of a tunny fish, and it was naturally found on the coins as well. The coins also bore representations of animals and deities and in a few cases, of people.

"Cyzicus lay on the shores of the Sea of Marmara, on the territory of what is now Turkey. Cyzicenes, however, were used as an international currency in Mediterranean countries and

especially in the Black Sea area.

"The curious fact is that cyzicenes continued in international circulation for several centuries. We know of very few cases of such stable currency in either ancient or modern history. The nominal value of the cyzicene was rather high, and it was used mostly in large commercial transactions. It is not surprising that big hoards are seldom found since, in those days, this would have represented a great fortune.

"The Orlovka hoard is important in that it provides a notion of the accumulation of a large fortune in one pair of hands. It may be that the former owner of the hoard exported the cattle and especially the grain that ancient Greece always stood in need of from this area of the north-west coast of the Black Sea."
[*Soviet News*: January 30, 1968, p. 62]

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The Metamorphosis of an alleged 'As of Hadrian'

EDWIN CONRAD, J.D., M.A.

Isotopes also exist in the field of Ancient Roman coins. Recently, a friend of mine, while visiting the Eternal City, acquired a few bronze Roman coins and presented one to me, attributed to the Emperor Hadrian, 117-138 A.D.

A gross examination of this piece of bronze, approximately 27 mm in diameter, did not reveal anything except a hidden portrait and a suggestion of a part of a legend reading "*GER.*" It was obviously either an As or a Dupondius. I neglected to weigh the coin and by taking this course I violated Lord Kelvin's rule of making a complete analysis of the subject matter.

The obverse was heavily encrusted with a thick black coating, presumably cupric oxide, CuO, cupric sulfide, CuS, or a combination of both, with no patina present. A portrait was there but difficult to discern but it did not appear to be that of Hadrian. The reverse was completely covered with a heavy layer of basic copper carbonate, $2\ CuCO_3 \cdot Cu(OH)_2$, green in color, and the usual blue patches of cupric sulfate, $CuSO_4$ which one usually finds on such old coins. There was also an entire absence of a patina or figures on the reverse.

As with all Roman coins, I was bothered by the problem of attribution. I was not convinced that this particular coin was minted by Hadrian. I could sense the ghost of one of the early Emperors peering at me through the cosmic dust of antiquity covering the portrait.

Radical surgery appeared in order. Using a 50 per cent solution of Hydrochloric Acid, HCl, I swabbed the coin rapidly in all directions with a camel's hair brush at minute intervals, with some care taken not to disturb the relief too much. After each application I placed the coin in a neutralizing solution of Sodium Carbonate, Na_2CO_3. Several hours of patient work in this manner finally removed all encrustation on both sides of the coin, with minimum damage to the relief. I went right to the copper. To my great amazement I discovered an As of the Emperor Caligula, 37-41 A.D.[1]

The obverse legend reads "*C CAESAR AVG GERMANICVS PON M TR POT.* (The separation in the legend is for the sake of convenience.) The letters "AES," "PON M", and the "T",

(of *POT*) are somewhat worn but clearly visible, especially in the presence of oblique lighting.

On the reverse the Vestal Virgin is still sitting serenely after 2000 years (approximately), although the forces of nature have removed her head. The legend "Vesta" has disappeared but the large S and C (*Senatus Consulto*) have been resurrected, although the top of the *S* is more clearly visible when oblique lighting is used.

The acid solution pitted the copper. A rubbing with red jeweler's rouge appeared in order. Because bare copper was reached a brown toner was used to simulate the antiquity which should have been there. A light rubbing with vaseline finished the job. The restored As weighed 10.025 grams.

The restoration by the means used of a coin. which for all practical purposes did not exist. was completely justified. My new Caligula As[2] is rated at about a Good plus, but it is now the most priceless of my Ancient Roman coins, ranging from a minimum grading of VF to Unc.

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1. Sear, D. *Roman Coins and Their Values*. B. A. Seaby Ltd. London. 1964. See Plate 1, following p. 288. Sear 516. C.27.
2. This coin was undoubtedly minted at Rome. See Mattingly, H. *Roman Coins*, London, Methuen & Co., 1962, p. 106.

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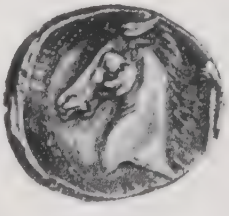

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